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LABOUR AND WAR PAMPHLETS.

NUMBER THREE.

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THE PERIL OF CONSCRIPTION

By

J. BRUCE GLASIER.

ONE PENNY.

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American Union Against Militarism

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American Union Against Militarism
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Bulletin No. 27
June 8, 1920

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The Defeat of Section 69.

Fellow citizens, that was a pretty close call!

One week more of delay in hearing from you in protest against Section 69, and we should have been trapped. Trapped, without any resource left save an appeal to Woodrow Wilson please to come to the rescue with a veto of the Army Reorganization act!

And if we had appealed to him for a veto, as likely as not we would have been told, severely, that until the country accepted the Versailles treaty, all the plagues of conscription, big navy and what not, would scarcely suffice to save us as a people in our unprotected position!

But fortunately, after letting the conference committee think for weeks and weeks that you were utterly indifferent regarding Section 69--that section which provided, as you recall, for the automatic conscription of all able-bodied males between the ages of 18 and 45 whenever Congress and the President declared a "national emergency" to exist--you suddenly woke up and tore loose such a flood of letters and telegrams as effectually to destroy any notion on their part that they could adopt Section 69 and avoid unpleasant consequences at the polls in November.

So they dropped it quietly and passed the bill without it.

But if you hadn't got fearfully busy when you did, the conference committee would have adopted Section 69 and reported the bill to the two houses without calling attention to the clause. That is the way the "Hayden joker" was slipped through Congress several years ago.) After a conference committee has gotten together on a bill representing a compromise agreement, it between the two Houses, it is very difficult to block that bill. In each House the tendency on the part of the members is to pass it on the grounds that it represents the best that can be gotten. So when the bill comes up, there is a little perfunctory explanation, a few questions and answers, the chair puts the question and the bill is adopted with a whoop,--no roll call, no telltale record left.

As it is, the whole fight goes over until December. Between now and December a subcommittee of the House Committee on Military Affairs will be holding hearings, elaborately considering the question of compulsory training. This subcommittee is committed in advance to the idea. Their game will be to go into the question of expense and to show how many millions of dollars we shall save if only we adopt universal military training. They will report to the House Military Affairs Committee early in December; the House Military Affairs Committee will listen solemnly and will perceive in the data submitted eloquent proff of the wisdom of adopting universal training on the grounds of national economy! But they won't be brash about it. They will content themselves with recommending a mild bill "authorizing the President"--note the adroit language--to establish, say in 1922, a system of "universal military training, including instruction in agriculture and the mechanic arts."

The elections will be over. No more trouble with constituents for two years. Here is a harmless little bill which passes the responsibility to the president and postpones the adoption of the measure for a year or two in which the country can become hopeless or reconciled to universal training. It is important for us to talk victory. We must be a majority, not a minority. But victory doesn't mean somnolence. It is going to be no joke to defeat that oblique, harmless-looking pussy-footed resolution in December.

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Vito Marcantonio, president of the International Labor Defense

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By Congressman
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HOW IT AFFECTS YOU
ITS RELATION TO WAR
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WHAT CAN BE DONE

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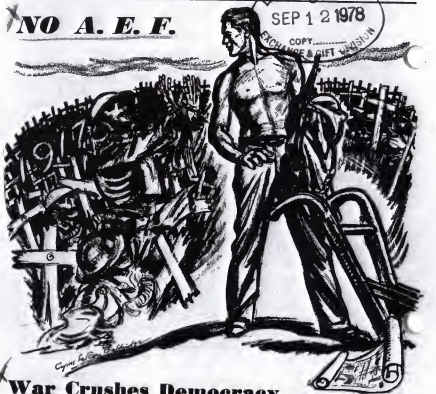

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UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

OUR LATEST CURE-ALL

BY
OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
NEW YORK EVENING POST

A Delegate—How about universal military training after the war?

Mr. Lloyd George—It is my hope, and that is really what we are fighting for, that we shall establish conditions that will make compulsory service unnecessary, not merely in this country, but in every country. Unless we succeed in establishing those conditions, I personally shall not feel that we have achieved one of the most important of our war aims.

—London Times, January 19, 1918, account of conference with trade union delegates.

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Universal Military Training

A Debate:

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Henry L. West v. *Charles T. Hallinan*

of the National Security League

of the American Union Against Militarism

"God help us if we should prove as weak as we are rich!"
—Mr. West, p. 4.

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"Upon the outcome of the great debate on 'Conscription *vs.* Democracy' depends the question whether the last fortress of democracy in the world and the greatest adventure in human history shall go down in failure."—*George W. Nasmyth.*

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Universal Military Training and Democracy

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By

GEORGE NASMYTH, PH.D.

Author of

"Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory: A Study of Force as a Factor in Human Relations"

Although a great deal has been said to suggest that this country was considering merely the adoption of a harmless system of compulsory military training resembling the so-called Swiss system, the fact remains that at no time has any bill been introduced in Congress based upon the Swiss or militia system; the two Chamberlain bills, the so-called Moseley bill and the General Staff bill have all been based upon the Prussian system in which the youth is placed under centralized military control, deprived of his civilian rights and placed at enforced military labor for a prolonged period. The General Staff now asks for nine months' military training but adds that ultimately we must have two years if our soldiers and armies are to be "adequately trained." See *A Proper Military Policy for the United States* by the General Staff, War Department, Washington, D. C.

AMERICAN UNION AGAINST MILITARISM

Westory Building, Washington, D. C.

"MILITARISM: the spirit and temper which exalts the military virtues and ideals and minimizes the defects of military training and the cost of war and preparation for it."—*Webster's International Dictionary*, 1915.

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Conscription
AND THE
"Conscientious Objector" to War

FACTS REGARDING EXEMPTIONS FROM MILITARY SERVICE UNDER THE CONSCRIPTION ACT

PUBLISHED BY
THE AMERICAN UNION AGAINST MILITARISM
MUNSEY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.
NEW YORK OFFICE, 70 FIFTH AVENUE
May 1917

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CONSCRIPTION

AND THE

"CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR"

Facts regarding exemption from military service under the conscription act.

NOTE:

The facts contained in this pamphlet are gathered entirely from official sources. Those statements which do not appear in official documents have been verified by consultation with officials of the War Department. The purpose of this pamphlet is to enable any interested citizen to get accurate information on the relation of conscription to the "conscientious objector," not to aid or influence men to resist the conscription act. The pamphlet should be read in connection with the accompanying leaflet, kindly furnished by the Provost Marshal General. The Bureau stands for a liberal, statesman-like solution of the problem of liberty of conscience.

PUBLISHED BY

THE CIVIL LIBERTIES BUREAU

OF THE

AMERICAN UNION AGAINST MILITARISM

Munsey Bldg.,
Washington, D. C.

New York Office,
70 Fifth Avenue

July, 1917

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War's Heretics

A Plea for the Conscientious Objector

By Norman M. Thomas
CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN PARISH, NEW YORK

ANY effort to think intelligently about a war avowedly waged for human liberty brings one face to face with the problem of the conscientious objector. Undoubtedly he is an irritant to the whole-souled patriot. His very existence seems a piece of inconsiderate egotism and annoyingly interrupts us in the midst of our enthusiasms for a war fought "by no compulsion of the unwilling" "to make the world safe for democracy." So newspapers, orators and Colonel Roosevelt call him slacker, coward or pro-German; philosophers gravely pronounce him anti-social, and scientists like Dr. Paton analyze him from a study chair with a truly Teutonic subjectivity and heaviness. Meanwhile his defenders and comrades are a bit embarrassed because he is not of one type or philosophy, but of many. Even the name "conscientious objector" is most unwelcome to some moderns among them to whom the phrase has an "archaic flavor," an objective quality, " like a godly grandmother," which hardly fits into their scheme of life. They are not, then, overly sympathetic with the defense which is entirely satisfactory to the man to whom conscience is the real norm of life and "thou shalt not kill" a complete statement of its law.

Therefore, it is with some diffidence that I, a conscientious objector, undertake to speak for my brethren and to appeal even in the heat of war for some measure of understanding —not so much for our own sakes as in the interest of sound public policy and ultimately of democracy itself.

As a starting point we can define conscientious objectors as men who are absolutely persuaded that enforced participation in this war is so opposed to their deepest convictions

Reprinted by the Civil Liberties Bureau of the American Union Against Militarism, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City; Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.—August, 1917.

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WHAT HAPPENS IN MILITARY PRISONS

The Public is Entitled to the Facts

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Political Prisoners

in

Federal Military Prisons

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Men, striking in protest against the treatment of fellow prisoners, are manacled in solitary confinement in dark underground cells on a diet of bread and water. It is only a question of how many days they can last before physical or mental collapse puts an end to this phase of their suffering.

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November 21, 1918

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The Facts about

Conscientious Objectors

in the United States

(Under the Selective Service Act of May 18, 1917)

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The facts in this pamphlet are secured chiefly from official records, and correspondence with the War Department

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REPORT OF TREATMENT OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS AT THE CAMP FUNSTON GUARD HOUSE

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DECEMBER, 1918.

Published by the
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May 31, 1918.
C.O. Bull. No.7.
(Previous Bulletin dated
May 4th, 1918.)

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ORDER OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

Concerning Conscientious Objectors who refuse to accept non-combatant service under military authority

"1. By the terms of the Presidential Order of March 20, 1918, men reporting at the training camps under the provision of the Selective Service Law who profess conscientious scruples against warfare are given an opportunity to select forms of service designated by the President to be noncombatant in character. By direction of the Secretary of War dated April 22, 1918, instructions were issued by this office April 27, 1918, to try by court-martial those declining to accept such noncombatant service; (a) whose attitude in camp is defiant; (b) whose sincerity is questioned; (c) who are active in propaganda.

"2. All other men professing conscientious objections, now segregated in posts and camps, i.e., those who, while themselves refusing to obey military instructions on the ground of conscientious scruples, religious or other, have given no other cause of criticism in their conduct and all who have been or may be acquitted by suchcourtsmartial, shall be transferred, upon orders issued by this office to camp and other commanders, to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. The Commanding Officer, Fort Leavenworth, will keep these men segregated, but not under arrest, pending further instructions from this office.

"3. The same procedure shall be carried out as promptly as possible in the cases of men professing similar scruples who may report at posts or camps in the future.

"4. Under no circumstances will conscientious objectors otherwise qualified to perform military duty be discharged from their responsibilities under the Selective Service Law, but the Secretary of War has constituted a Board of Inquiry, composed of a representativefrom the Judge Advocate's office (Major Richard C. Stoddard) Chairman, Judge Julian W. Mack of the Federal Court, and Dean H. F. Stone of the Columbia University Law School.
It will be the duty of this board to interrogate personally each man so transferred. Such men as may be determined by this Board to be sincere in their attitude and desirous of serving their country in any way within the limits of their conscientious scruples may be furloughed by the commanding officer, Fort Leavenworth, without pay, for agricultural service, upon the voluntary application of the soldier, under the authoritycontained in the Act of Congress of March 16, 1918, and the provisions of General Order 31, 1918, provision being made:-

(1) That monthly report as to the industry of each person so furloughed shall be received from disinterested sources, and that the furlough shall terminate automatically upon receipt of report that he is not working to the best of his ability; and

(2)That no person shall be recommended for such furlough who does not voluntarily agree that he shall receive for his labor an amount no greater than a private's pay, plus an estimated sum for subsistence if such be no provided by the employer. It is suggested that

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Sept. 20, 1918.
Bull. No. 10
(Previous Bulletin dated August 7, 1918)

BULLETIN ON THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR

The present facts of the situation affecting conscientious objectors who refuse non-combatant service are:

1. Instead of sending all objectors to a central point at Fort Leavenworth as was first planned, they are now concentrated at several centers for examination by the Board of Inquiry, which are, so far as we can learn, Camps Meade (Maryland) Sherman (Ohio) Jackson (South Carolina) Lewis (Washington) and Fort Riley (Kansas) The segregated units in the other camps have with a few exceptions, been abolished, and new men are sent on to these centers as soon as their status as objectors is clear to the military authorities. Some men, of course, are held for court martial under the provisions of the War Department order. All of them are subject to considerable pressure to accept non-combatant service. Only those refusing any service under military authority are sent to the concentration points.

2. After the Board of Inquiry has passed upon the cases, the men are disposed of within a few weeks' time. At some camps there has been a long delay. Some hundreds are out doing farm work at the present time. The furloughs hold good until Nov. 15. [illegible] that some other service will [illegible] 50 - 100. [illegible] it, have been or are about to be court martialed. About 20 - 30 refusing to accept furloughs are also held for court martial. Some accepting furloughs have returned from the farms on account of conditions and will also in most cases be tried by a court martial.

3. Conditions at Fort Riley, to which about 200 hundred men have been sent have been the subject of much recent communication with the War Department, and of several examinations through official channels. The complaints concern (1) inadequate living and feeding arrangements which caused a hunger strike of about 20 men. (2) mistreatment of men in the guard-house and (3) the hunger strike of four men who protested against being held at all by the military authorities. All the hunger strikers have since abandoned that form of protest. Guard-house abuses have been corrected.

4. The Secretary of War's office has undertaken an investigation of prison punishments at Fort Leavenworth and Fort Jay, with what results we do not yet know. The solitary cell punishments still continue. We are giving publicity to the facts in the hope of more certainly securing action.

5. Attached herewith is a statement just addressed to the Secretary of War asking for the recognition of political objectors to participation in this war.

Very truly yours,

ROGER N. BALDWIN

Director.

NATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTIES BUREAU,
70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

July 3,1918.

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The Conscientious Objectors Set Free

NOW that H. G. Wells has given us newer and clearer outlines of history than we had before, we may even expect some day a complete and truthful account of American participation in the Great War. Here is a task for our generation of historians! Such a work would include volumes on "The Army in France" (not omitting a chapter on "Hard-Boiled" Smith); on "Graft and Waste in Washington," just now in the stage of original research; and above all on "The Destruction of Spiritual Values, or How Democracy Was Lost at Home." This volume will be long in preparation, for its story is not yet fully told. One chapter, however, has just been completed by Secretary Baker's announcement that all conscientious objectors have now been released.

Hisses and groans will meet the announcement. Their name will be legion. But in belatedly releasing the men who refused to kill for conscience' sake, Mr. Baker has been consistent. Well-intentioned throughout, unwilling to heed the baying of the journalistic wolf-pack or the clamor of the club-chair chauvinists, he meant well, but, like an illustrious predecessor, he meant well feebly. There have been many acid tests of American purpose in the war, but none more clearly such than our treatment of the handful of Americans who were not too proud but were too brave to fight, who unflinchingly faced and suffered hatred, ostracism, imprisonment, physical torture, and death for their faith. These four thousand, out of the four million called to arms, who resisted every form of pressure to make them fight, were possessed of a courage beyond the understanding of the herd. The coward would have backed down. The slacker would have done what indeed thousands of his brand, like the notorious Bergdolls, did—evaded registration or even more safely joined in the scramble for places in non-combatant services within the army itself. No, the true conscientious objectors to whom we refer, were not dodgers. They were above all things facers. And as time goes on and the already receding tide of hysteria and hate ebbs, there will come, along with the realization of the ghastly futility and madness of war, a clearer recognition of the pioneer courage and heroic martyrdom of these men. And while they suffered greatly, their sacrifice is not in vain.

To those familiar with war psychology, it is not surprising that the least belligerent, the least endangered, and the supposedly freest country involved should have traveled the furthest in the severity of its punishment of all forms of dissent. In other countries conscientious objectors were imprisoned, but their terms were short and obviously intended for restraint only during the period of hostilities. They were released soon after the armistice. But in free America not only was the imprisonment needlessly prolonged for over two years—longer than the terms given the very notorious enemy conspirators found guilty of plotting murder against our civilian population—but the incarceration was accompanied by unspeakable atrocities. A number died in prison, victims of beating and deliberate starvation. Others were tied up by the hands for days at a time, drenched in icy water, and compelled to remain in cells at freezing temperatures. A number of these died from pneu-

of one religious objector, member of a sect professedly opposed to all forms of violence, coming to claim his body found it clad in the uniform which he had given his life to avoid donning. Instances of that kind were innumerable. The iron cage at Alcatraz, especially constructed for the torture of the conscientious objectors, an instrument recalling the medieval Iron Maiden, is the symbol of America's treatment of them and entitled as such to a place in our historical museum as a warning to coming generations. It is important that they should have this warning. The Civil Liberties Union which has done such splendid work in agitating for the mitigation of the suffering and the ultimate release of the objectors would be eminently fitted to assume this responsibility, and it is pleasing to record in this connection that a book on the subject by Mr. Norman Thomas is in preparation. It will belong in every public library, and in the event of other impending hostilities it should be chained to its shelf.

Other chapters in the history of our destruction of democracy at home are not yet complete. Other groups of men are still behind prison bars, victims of our ruthlessness. There are the soldiers, many of them boys, many of them volunteers, who, thrust from the unrestraint of American farm or city life into the rigid discipline of army and navy, were guilty of various infractions of discipline. Court-martialed for "disrespect" to a minor commissioned officer often totally unworthy to command, some are still serving the ferocious sentences imposed to convince the world that we were at war. Still others, equally unprepared for our sudden conversion to Prussianism, are similarly paying the penalty for some careless dissent from the orthodox view of the causes, purposes, or conduct of the war to make the world safe for democracy.

Another group are the I. W. W., about whom less truth is known by the American public than about the Solomon Islanders. Without a solitary act of violence proved against them, without a single change in the expression of their long-professed economic doctrines, these men still face the better part of a lifetime in jail. And there is Debs and a few others like him who would not be stampeded, who refused to hate, who obeyed the biblical injunction to "resist not evil," who like Martin Luther stood by their principles and "could do no other."

Well, the war has been over for two years and more. Who now dares assert that it was not the greatest failure in history? Who will deny that by it civilization is immeasurably set back? And who can assert that those who, before the shattering and revealing experiences of the last five years, saw clearly and so did move, were not at least as true patriots and humanitarians as the other millions and better prophets?

Christmas is at hand and the spirit of peace and goodwill is again supposed to radiate over the earth—at least over the Christian parts of the earth—so deeply devastated and now so sorely in need of healing. May we not hope that this spirit will express itself in a sweeping and complete amnesty to those in this country who are still in prison because they fought the good fight as they saw it, and kept the faith?

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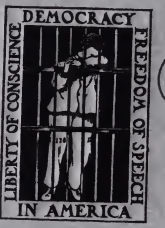
WHO ARE THE CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS?



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Devere Allen

Editor, THE WORLD TOMORROW

The Fellowship of Reconciliation welcomes to membership all who are convinced that love as seen in Jesus of Nazareth is the effective power for overcoming evil and calling forth the undiscovered good in men; who feel that they are called to make their lives to the removal of the causes of strife and injustice, and the creation of relationships of love in business, in social and church life, in education, in the treatment of crime, in business and industry, and between nations and races; and who abstain from war or the preparation for it.

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Citizenship for War Objectors

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A Report

on the treatment of

conscientious objectors

in World War II

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CONSCIENCE AND THE WAR

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THE

Chaplain's Guide

TO

Conscientious Objectors

IN THE

Armed Forces

(Revised, July, 1961)

• 5 = JUN 7 -
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Published by

CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR
CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS
2006 Walnut Street
Philadelphia 3, Pa.

NATIONAL SERVICE BOARD FOR
RELIGIOUS OBJECTORS
401 Third Street, N. W.
Washington 1, D.C.

5 - JUN 7 -
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Are you a conscientious objector to war?

Introduction

You may be one of the many young men of draft age who have serious objections to war. Are you aware of the provisions in the draft law for conscientious objectors? Or are you questioning whether your particular basis of objection to war is covered by the law? The following paragraphs may be helpful to you.

The present draft law provides that no person shall

> be subject to combatant training and service in the armed forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code. *(Section 6j of the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951, as amended)*

The conscientious objector who is opposed only to combatant duty will, if his claim is sustained by his draft board, be assigned to noncombatant military duty, usually in the Army medical service. If found opposed to combatant and noncombatant duty, he will be ordered to perform civilian work of national importance.

Religious Training and Belief Defined

Religious training and belief should be viewed as a single concept with emphasis clearly upon belief. A federal court has held that "so far as Congress was thinking of training, it regarded it as meaning no more than individual experience supporting belief; a mere background against which sincerity could be tested." Religious training and belief includes any belief, orthodox or unorthodox. It does not have to include fear of religious sanctions, such as punishment after death or excommunication from the church. Beliefs which are religious at their root are covered by the law.

The draft law definition of religious training and belief does not require you to be a member of any church or religious organization, nor to adhere to any formal creed. Formal religious training, such as received in Sunday School, is not required by the law, although evidence of such may strengthen your claim.

The Supreme Being Clause

The requirement of "a belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation" may present the greatest difficulty for some. Yet the legal definition of Supreme Being may be broad enough to include your particular belief. You do not have to believe in a Supreme Being in some anthropomorphic sense of a personality having corporeal existence. Supreme Being is synonymous with *God* or *Deity;* it may be thought of as *Love*, or *Truth*, or the *Integrative Force of the Universe*, or you may call it something else.

While Selective Service and the Department of Justice often apply the narrowest interpretation possible to the meaning of Supreme Being, there is no reason to consider the concept of Supreme Being as restrictive to some particular theological definition of God. Any person who believes in God or a Supreme Diety by some other terminology can legally claim belief in a Supreme Being.

Who Should Apply

If your objection to war rests on long-established and conventional religious beliefs which include belief in a Supreme Being, you should apply for classification as a conscientious objector.

If you hold liberal, questioning, or more unorthodox views on religion, you should apply for a CO classification. If you cannot conscientiously answer *yes* to the Supreme Being clause, answer with a *I don't know* or *Depends upon what you mean*, or leave it blank. Then follow with a clear, simple statement of what you do believe. If you answer *no* to the Supreme Being question, you will be denied the special appeal procedure available to CO claimants.

If you consider your objection to war as "non-religious" in nature, or if you absolutely do not believe in any concept of a Supreme Being, you should file the special CO form, and put into your draft record the basis of your objection to war.

Only you can decide whether you are an objector to war, and the basis of your objection. But let Selective Service determine whether your particular belief comes within the draft law provisions for conscientious objectors. Some draft boards are quite liberal in their interpretations. ***Do not assume that you do not qualify.***

Further Information

Write the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania for further information about the CO provisions in the draft law. CCCO was established in 1948 as a nonsectarian counseling service available to all COs regardless of the basis of their objection to war.

CCCO publishes the HANDBOOK FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS, a thorough treatment of CO problems in relation to the draft law. Includes helpful chapters on thinking through the basis for conscientious objection; the CO in the armed forces; and the CO in prison. Also includes a select and annotated bibliography on conscientious objection. (Fourth Revised Edition, 1960, 50 cents)

Published by The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.. LOcust 3-1480. A. J. Muste, J. Borton Harrison, Co-choirmen; George Willoughby, Executive Secretary.

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SERVICES TO CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

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Punishment for Conscience

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Why WE REFUSED TO REGISTER

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KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR CONGRESS, 22 E. 17th St., New York City
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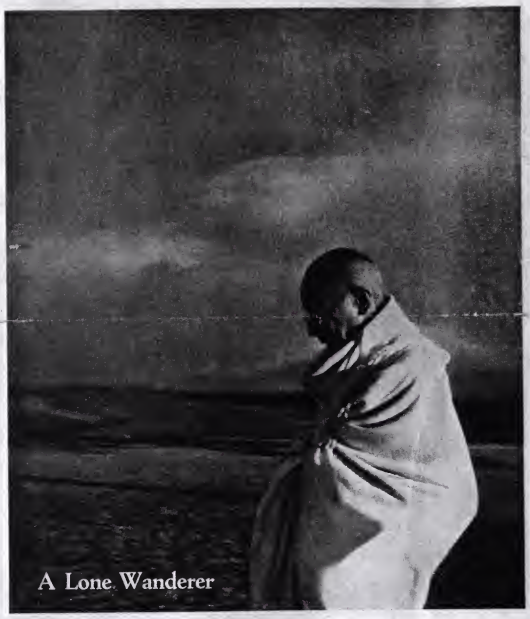

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LANSBURY HOUSE, 88 PARK AVENUE, BUSH HILL PARK
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TO MEN OF MILITARY AGE OPPOSED TO WAR!

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Register June 5th — and when you register, state your protest against participation in war

You can only make your protest effective by registering. See that the clerk puts down your claim to exemption from service as a "conscientious objector to war"

Read the following statement signed by men and women active in the anti-militarist movement:

The presence in this country of a considerable number of so-called conscientious objectors is generally known. In recent weeks these objectors, confronted by the Conscription Act, have been undecided as to whether they should make known their conscientious scruples against war by refusing to register, or refusing military service (as distinct from alternative civil service which may conceivably be secured hereafter) when actually drafted by the process of selection.

In realization of the necessity of concerted action in this crisis and in answer to appeals for counsel in the matter, the undersigned, after consideration which has in some cases reversed original opinion, unite in stating their belief that **all conscientious objectors should register and indicate in the way provided by the law their personal opposition to participation in war.**

Obedience to law, to the utmost limit of conscience, is the basis of good citizenship. Public understanding and sympathy, in this case, should not be alienated by misdirected action. T[illegible] one's claims to exemption from military service should not be missed by those who desire to state their objection to that service on religious or other conscientious grounds.

We therefore urge all conscientious objectors to register, stating their protest in such form as they may think best, at that time. We request that the widest possible publicity be given to this statement.

Lillian D. Wald, New York City.
Joseph D. Cannon, New York City.
Oswald Garrison Villard, New York City.
John Haynes Holmes, New York City.
Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York City.
Mrs. Glendower Evans, Boston, Mass.
Benjamin C. Marsh, New York City.
Norman M. Thomas, New York City.
Zona Gale, Portage, Wisconsin.
Harold A. Hatch, New York City.
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Agnes B. Leach, New York City.
John Lovejoy Elliott, New York City.
Henry R. Mussey, New York City.

ENDORSED BY
THE AMERICAN UNION AGAINST MILITARISM
Munsey Building, Washington, D. C. — New York Office: 70 Fifth Avenue.

A bureau of aid and advice for conscientious objectors has been established by the American Union, working in co-operation with representatives of other interested agencies. Those wishing to register with the bureau sign here and mail in. Contributions for the support of the bureau will be warmly appreciated.

American Union Against Militarism,
70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Please register me as a conscientious objector of military age.

Signed .....

Street address .....

City and State .....